

# SPEECH

ON

THE MEANS OF SUCCESS, THE SOURCES OF  
DANGER, AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF  
FAILURE IN THE CONFEDERATE

Struggle for Independence !

DELIVERED IN

STERLING HALL, LA GRANGE, GA.,

On the 11th day of March, 1865.

---

BY B. H. HILL.

---

"It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old ; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honor."—*Pericles*.



ATLANTA, GEORGIA :  
ECONOMICAL BOOK AND JOB PRINTING HOUSE,

V. P. Sisson & Co., PROPRIETORS.

1874.



# SPEECH

ON

THE MEANS OF SUCCESS, THE SOURCES OF  
DANGER, AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF  
FAILURE IN THE CONFEDERATE

Struggle for Independence !

DELIVERED IN

STERLING HALL, LA GRANGE, GA.,

On the 11th day of March, 1865.

---

BY B. H. HILL.

---

"It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old ; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honor."—*Pericles*.



ATLANTA, GEORGIA :  
ECONOMICAL BOOK AND JOB PRINTING HOUSE,

V. P. SISSON & CO., PROPRIETORS.

1874.



I RE-PUBLISH this Speech for two reasons :

1. Some of those who heard it delivered, have requested its re-publication.
2. I desire its preservation as the best expression I can now give of the moral causes which compelled surrender, as well as of the horrors consequent upon surrender.

With immaterial variances in details, nearly all the predictions in this speech, of the consequences of subjugation, have become, already, historical facts. The predictions not yet fulfilled, I leave to that inexorable future which shapes human destinies in logical consistency with human nature and God's laws, despite the follies of human wisdom, and the crimes of human legislation.

The reader will see, in this speech, the reasons which prompted me so earnestly to stand by the Confederate struggle to the last hour; and to seek, by every means in my power, to avert from the Southern people that greatest of human calamities—the subjugation of one section, by another section of a common country.

I regret nothing but the FAILURE, and my inability to do more to prevent it.

BENJ. H. HILL.

May 22d, 1874.

## SPEECH.

---

From my youth, most of you now before me, have been accustomed to honor me with a willingness to hear my opinions upon questions of public interest. This large assemblage to-day manifests that, through all our sufferings and vicissitudes, your confidence remains steadfast; and most sincerely I thank you.

At no previous period have I addressed you with so thorough a conviction of the magnitude of the interests involved, nor with so deep a sense of my utter incapacity to discuss the issues upon which those interests depend, satisfactorily to myself. I do not come to tell you your property is secure, or your liberties are unthreatened, or your lives are safe. I come to tell you that the greatest trial which can befall a people is now upon you. Are you willing—are you ready, to sacrifice property, liberty and life to defend, to preserve, to establish that national honor, national integrity and national independence, without which neither property, liberty or life, could be either valuable or desirable? If so, you will enjoy all—property, liberty and life; and enjoy them more abundantly. If not, then you lose all; and with them you throw away national honor, integrity and independence, forever. Nations, like individuals, must have character; and nations, like individuals, must have that character tested—proven by trial. Trial is to the national character what the sculptor's chisel is to the marble, it cuts away much of its substance, but leaves it in shape, comeliness and value. And this I can speak for our encouragement, that no nation has ever yet died, or been destroyed, while the people held every other interest subordinate to the preservation of national honor, virtue and independence. While this I must say for our admonition: that no nation has ever yet survived, whose people became willing to sacrifice honor, virtue or independence, for individual ease, or any material prosperity.

As, therefore, no man can enjoy life, liberty or property, except the national integrity be preserved, it follows, that it is every man's duty to sacrifice all these, when necessary, to preserve that national integrity; and he who refuses to make the



sacrifice, becomes an enemy to that nation, and the personal enemy of every other individual of that nation, and of every individual to be born in that nation.

I speak to you, my friends and neighbors, to-day, but I speak of interests that must affect our whole country, and our whole country's posterity. We can have no divided interests, and no separate deliverance. I plead the cause of twelve millions, living, and of twelve millions, many times multiplied, yet to live. And what a patrimony to preserve, what a heritage to transmit, are involved in this cause!

Since our beneficent Father made the heavens and the earth, He has parceled out to His children no better portion than that which we of the Confederate States possess. We have an area broader than the five great powers of Europe. We have a sky as bright, and a climate as balmy, as the poet's "loved Italia." We have a soil more fruitful than that of the land selected by the Father Himself for His own chosen people, and which is described as "flowing with milk and with honey." And we have rivers which can float to the sea ten thousand cargoes, each richer than the fabled golden fleece! And yet, since God cursed man and drove him from Paradise, thenceforth to be the victim of hatred and revenge, and of every passion, no people have been threatened with evils so dire, and a fate so terrible, as those with which we, of the Confederate States, are now threatened! For, what to us will be our wide-spreading lands, if they are to be divided by the hands of an enemy? What will it be to us, that our skies are bright and our climate balmy, if the spirits of our people are bowed and broken? What will it be to us, that our productions are rich and varied, if, while we may reap, another shall enjoy? What, oh, what will it be to us, that the sails of white-winged commerce shall gather in our waters and along our streams, as the fleecy clouds sometimes gather on our horizon and through our heavens, if they come to bear away our riches to fill the coffers of a conqueror? I would not be sacrilegious; I would not be ungrateful; I would not throw away, foolishly, the bounties of Heaven, but rather than these evils should be fixed upon us, I could pray that God would curse these lands until not a seed could vegetate, and darken these skies until not a ray of light could penetrate the blackness!

In view, then, of the great interests involved, let us proceed to examine the issue, as that issue is now presented, between us and our enemies; how that issue is to be solved; our resources; the difficulties which obstruct us; the method of overcoming those difficulties, and our prospects for final success.

There can be no two honest opinions as to the character of the issue. Our enemy, proverbial for deception, is candid with us, on this subject, now. If we be deceived here, we must deceive ourselves. Indeed, so distinct is the issue, that, in my opinion, this very distinctness, combined with the character of the demands which make the issue, will, in history, make this the beginning of the second epoch in this revolution. Four years ago, our people were divided in opinion as to what our enemies proposed to do; and, therefore, were divided in opinion, as to what we ought to do. Then, there was ground for debate; room for doubt; tolerance for differences, and patriots on both sides. Now, our enemies declare distinctly what they propose to do, and equally distinct becomes our duty. There is no ground for debate; no room for doubt; and there ought to be no tolerance for difference, for patriots cannot longer divide. He that is not for us, is, by the very nature of the issue, compelled to be against us. This issue, I repeat, is formed, made up, by the demands of the enemy, officially announced by Mr. Lincoln to our own appointed commissioners.

The first demand is "a complete restoration of the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States, over all places within the States of the Confederacy." What Constitution? Ah, my friends, not the Constitution which our common fathers made! Not that Constitution in which conflicting interests and opinions made mutual concessions for the general good; in which, the South agreed to contribute to the commercial and manufacturing greatness of the North, and the North, in consideration therefor, agreed not to interfere with, but to respect, the industrial pursuits and domestic labor of the South; and without which mutual concessions our fathers distinctly declared they would never agree to any union at all. That old Constitution, the Northern people did not like. Many of them hated it. They called it "a covenant with hell, and a league with the devil." They refused to obey it. They openly, repeatedly, grossly violated it; and, because of that bad faith, we were com-



pelled to abandon the Union formed by that Constitution. Since we left them, they have made a Constitution to suit themselves. They have annulled all the concessions their fathers made to us; but have retained all the concessions our fathers, in return therefor, made to them; and have added new exactions of us, which their own fathers, in the Convention, disclaimed, and which those fathers would have considered themselves disgraced in exacting; and which the most fanatic enemy of the South, in New England, would not have exacted before our separation. They have repealed the old laws, made for our benefit, in pursuance of the old Constitution; and have made new laws, in accordance with the spirit and purposes of this new Constitution. And now, they take this new Constitution, and these new laws—spawn of the most wicked fanaticism, conceived and perfected in the most bitter hatred to us, even while they were invading our soil, burning our homes and shedding our blood—and tell us we must consent to have their authority *restored* over us as the first condition of peace with them! Did these people forget who our fathers were, or did they think we were degenerate?

The next demand is, that we must agree in advance “to accept whatever consequences may follow from the restoration of this authority.” It matters not how hard our lot may be; how degrading to our honor; how ruinous to interests; how hopeless for our children; we must agree, in advance, not to complain; not to plead surprise; not to resist again; not to ask for a change. *We must accept whatever consequences may follow!* Our enemies are wiser, in their exactions, than the Venetian Jew. We must pay the pound of flesh, whatever blood shall flow, and it must be so written in the bond. If we sign that bond, no fair Portia will give judgment for us, and no honorable woman can ever bear children to a people so bankrupt in manliness!

But what are the changes made in the Constitution and laws, and what are the consequences to flow from these changes? for Mr. Lincoln is candid enough to give us notice of a sufficient number of them to enable even a stupid man to see that others must follow.

In the first place, our slaves are emancipated by our enemies, and we must consent to that emancipation. What need for “courts and votes,” after this consent? Well, this change alone,



is a great one. Slavery was not the cause, but it was the occasion of our secession. We voluntarily left a Union under a Constitution which our fathers did help to make; in which slavery was recognized; in which, even the abolitionists admitted it was recognized in the States, to secure greater and more quiet protection for that property. It is now proposed, demanded that we be carried back by force, to a Union under a Constitution which our fathers refused to make; which our enemies alone have made; in which our property is taken from us without compensation, and all at the bidding of an enemy who have been murdering our children while making this change to destroy our property, and who tell us they will continue to murder until we accept the change, and consent to the destruction. I say, to yield slavery at all, is to show a great change in our people. To yield it thus to the enemy, is singular, unusual humiliation for the Southern people. But to yield as a privilege—as a condition of re-union with that very enemy; and to be required, in the new Union, to pay a full proportion of the debt incurred by the enemy while murdering our people to force them to the surrender, is a subjugation which no people fit to live with would exact, and to which no people fit to live at all would ever submit.

But I am speaking to-day of questions whose solution must affect all the world, and all the world's posterity. By what I this day utter, I am willing to go before my country, before posterity, and before my Heavenly Father for judgment. And so speaking, I declare to you, I think the preservation of property in slaves, great as it is, is yet the very smallest interest involved in this contest. I believe slavery is God's own decree. If I did not believe so, no earthly power could make me hold my slaves until the going down of this day's sun. In God's hands I am willing to leave the negro's condition and destiny. "Best are all things as the will of God ordained them." But as far as property in that negro is the creature of human consent, I am willing to say I would freely, cheerfully, gladly, if necessary, give up slavery for independence; but I will never consent to give up slavery *and* independence, for any price which human coffers can pay, nor on any terms which human ingenuity can devise, nor under any torture which human power can inflict.

But I say, emancipation simply, is the smallest question in-

volved. If this were the only danger ; if we, the white race, were still permitted to regulate the new relations by our own State laws, we might be able to protect ourselves in our political, civil, and social supremacy ; and though in a different way, and on different terms, we should still be able, in a great measure to control the labor of the negro, both for his good and our own. Our enemies have seen this result, and they have provided against it.

Therefore, in the next place, under this new Constitution, Congress—the Federal Congress—we are notified, “reserves the power to enforce this emancipation, by such legislation as that Congress *shall deem appropriate*.” That is to say, the people who emancipate the slave, reserve the power to say how that slave shall enjoy his freedom ; what shall be his political, civil, and social status ; and what relations shall exist between the freed slave and his former master. The people who hate you, who have murdered your sons to free the negro, who impoverish and degrade you to enrich and elevate the negro, is to be the sole judge of what is appropriate in the future relations between you and that negro. Do you imagine such a people will judge it appropriate that you should be above the negro ? Will it not be marvelous if they even judge it appropriate that you should be his equal ?

Let us glance a moment at some of the measures which this Federal Congress must deem not only appropriate, but as absolutely necessary, to enforce this emancipation of the slaves ; without which, indeed, the emancipation would be idle and cruel.

In the first place, of course, the freed negro must have a country to live in. Now, it has never been known that the white and black races could inhabit the same country, in any large proportions, without the one race being subject to the other. The contrary is the experience of mankind. In former times, even abolitionists shuddered at the idea of turning loose four millions of blacks to live in the South. What to do with the negro after freeing him was the hardest problem for the world’s fanaticism to solve. For the purpose of solving this problem, the “Colonization Society” was formed. The object was to carry the freed negroes back to their own land, Liberia, and aid and encourage them to pursue and progress in the civilization and christianity they had acquired here, and extend both to their



race still in barbarism. Great intellects helped the scheme. Wealth, philanthropy and fanaticism all combined, from the North and from the South, to give it success. It failed. The negro preferred slavery here to freedom there. Many in this very State, freed by their masters to be carried to Liberia, refused to go. Some did go. Teachers with books, and preachers with the bible, went with them. But even with these helps, the freed negro went back to the barbarism of his race with more rapidity than he recovered his race from barbarism. Slavery is the only civilizer of the negro. Early in Mr. Lincoln's first term, we heard much of his efforts to get some Southern country in which to colonize the negroes. He failed. The negro would not go. He preferred to stay here even if compelled to shoot his master; and Mr. Lincoln, it seems, has concluded that it is a more christian work. The truth is, the negro will never voluntarily leave this country. He much prefers slavery. And the Yankee has concluded he shall neither leave the country nor remain a slave in it, whatever consequences may result.

But why give the negro his freedom and a country to live in and not the means of making a living? He must have lands to work and the means to work them. Therefore, as another result, our lands must be parceled out with the negro. Gen. Sherman has already commenced the work. He has already set apart certain lands in Georgia and South Carolina, and the islands adjacent, for the poor, starving negroes who followed him, and has forbid any white person going within their limits except by military order.

In the next place, the negro, being a free landed proprietor, must have civil rights, and civil rights are but a mockery without civil power; and all these will be futile without social equality. I tell you as sure as there is reason in logic, or revenge in hate, these consequences will all follow. They cannot follow naturally. The negro, of himself, can never make, administer or execute laws for the white man. His intellect is not equal to the task of either supremacy or equality. His taste, his habits, his nature can never, by any innate charm or power, rise to social equality with the white race. And I repeat, these ends will not be reached as results naturally arising from his state of freedom. But they will be provided for by law. His friend and your enemy, his liberator and your tyrant will have the sole

right to judge of the measures appropriate to enforce the negro's emancipation ; and by virtue of laws thus provided, the negro will be entitled to hold your lands, to sit in your legislative halls, to adjudge your rights, to be the witness between you and his race, to pass sentence upon your acts, to eat at your tables, to associate with your families, and to intermarry with your children.

Nor is the worst yet told. It will be in vain to give the negro all these rights, and establish them by law, and stop there. All the laws the Federal Congress could devise could not by their simple enactment lift the negro to actual equality with the white man. His nature and his habit is to fear and obey his master. The nature and the habit of the white man is to command and govern the negro. This normal relation must be overcome by something stronger than laws, or it will practically prevail. Therefore, power—force—must be provided to secure to the negro the actual enjoyment of these rights. The Yankee will not sacrifice a million of lives and billions of money to obtain these rights for the negro, and then hesitate to adopt whatever means may be necessary to secure their enjoyment, as far as that enjoyment can be secured.

This force must come from without, or be found within the country. To be furnished from without will prove too expensive. It will require three hundred thousand soldiers to garrison this vast territory. It would doubtless be deemed appropriate to collect the expense of maintaining this force from us, especially as we would be considered the cause of the necessity for such force. But, impoverished and enervated, and manacled in all our energies, we should never be able to provide the means for such payment. The Yankees would not long agree to pay such expenses from their own treasury, and the force from without would be chiefly withdrawn. Only one resource to accomplish the end would remain, and this would be adopted. The black race—the emancipated slave—would be armed ; and the white race—the dominating offended master—would be disarmed ! Do not tell me this result is too horrid, too demoniac. You will have no right to judge. That right is reserved, by the terms proposed, to the Federal Congress. Your enemy is to be the only judge. You are to agree in advance he shall be the only judge. That enemy is fanatical ; that enemy is mad ; that



enemy is blind ! That madness has been restrained hitherto by your power, but even now, is there any cruelty which that enemy has not delighted to inflict upon us where opportunity presented ? Let Atlanta, with her exiled people and heaps of ashes, answer ! Let Columbia, given to a soldiery licensed to sack, to riot, and to burn, close up the argument. I tell you, Atlanta depopulated and destroyed ; Columbia sacked and in smoking ruins, are happy places, where the weary and pursued may well fly for rest and safety, compared to the fate which will await this whole land, when the white race, conquered and hopeless, shall lay down their arms and submit to be the negro's fellow on the Yankee's terms. I will not detain you longer with details of the consequences that must result from an acceptance by us of the terms proposed by Mr. Lincoln to our commissioners in Hampton Roads. I have shown you that he requires us,

1. To accept a new Constitution and new laws made by our enemies,—made in the midst of inflamed hatred to us ; made while invading our country, burning our homes and shedding our blood !

2. To accept this new Constitution, and these laws, without reservation or qualification as to the consequences that may follow.

3. That we must agree in advance, that our slaves are emancipated ; and that the Federal Congress shall, in future, exercise the power to enforce that emancipation by such laws as they may deem appropriate.

4. I have shown you that to enforce this emancipation it must necessarily be deemed appropriate :
  1. That the freed negro shall have this country to inhabit.
  2. That he must be furnished with lands to cultivate, and with means to cultivate them.
  3. That he must have civil rights ; civil and political power, and social equality with us.
  4. That he must have power to protect himself in the enjoyment of all these rights against an old domineering master, and that, too, to this end : The negro will be armed, and the former master—the white race—will be disarmed !

I need scarcely add, that in order to carry out this policy, it will become necessary to obliterate all State lines, and have all the States of the Confederacy reduced to one vast territory. For this territory there will be but one law-making power—the Fed-

eral Congress ; and from this territory in that Congress, the negro, or the white man willing to be his equal, will be the only fit and accepted representative.

As an inducement—and the only inducement offered—to accept these terms, Mr. Lincoln promises us a liberal exercise of the pardoning power ! And, doubtless, those at the North who support him, will consider this indeed a liberal offer, since they claim the right to exterminate us for the sins already committed !

The very terms of the issue, as tendered by Mr. Lincoln, must preclude any division of opinion as to the manner of meeting that issue. Diplomacy, on its own terms, by its own champions, has made an effort and failed at the threshold. Statesmanship has been given its day, and not only failed, but was humiliated before one day ended. How could it have been otherwise when Mr. Lincoln had previously plainly said : “ It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory.” The day for diplomacy and statesmanship will certainly come ; and it will come early, or delay long, just in proportion to the earnestness and unanimity with which we, on our side, now wage the war. Wooing will drive it away. Universal defiance will bring it on. If our enemy could have heard from our people but one harmonious determined voice of resistance to death after the Hampton Roads conference, that day would have come upon us 'ere the springing grain could yellow for the harvest. Oh ! dastardly is the cowardice of that trooper who lingers from the battle now ; hopelessly suicidal is that avarice which can withhold its offering now ; and hateful, hateful, hateful far beyond the darkest thought of the traitor's mind, is that ambition which cannot forget its personal griefs and personal scheming and cease to divide our people now !

If we were base enough to desire to submit, we could not, for all inducements to such submission are destroyed by the terms proposed. We could not get back the old Union, for that has been more effectually destroyed by the enemy than by secession. We could not save our property, for its surrender is the very first condition of submission. We give up property in slaves in advance. We throw away all the debt we have incurred, and which is due to our own people. The remainder of our property, if sold in the most favorable market, would not pay our proportion of the enemy's debt incurred in our subjugation !



We would not secure peace. I do not speak to you with threats ; but I do speak in frankness. And I tell you, if you, at home, are willing to submit to terms so degrading, *the army will not !* The soldiers can give up property ; they HAVE given it up. They can leave home, and wife, and children ; they have left them. They can endure cold, and heat, and hunger, and nakedness. They have endured all these for four long years.— They can climb mountains, wade rivers, make long marches, walk without shoes, sleep without tents, fight without trembling, and die without fear ! All these things have been done from Texas to Maryland. They can listen to the bursting shells without quaking knees, and watch the flashing guns without blinking eyes. They have heard and seen them in a hundred battles. You cannot startle them with the enemy's numbers ; they have met that enemy on a hundred fields without a count, save of the slain and captured ! They can bury their fallen comrades, and still press on. Ah ! ten times ten thousand quick-shoveled mounds hide the still clenched teeth and fearless miens of sleeping braves from Oak Hills to Gettysburg. They are in the valley of the Mississippi, and, to their memories, the great father of waters will mingle a hoarse, deep dirge with the tolling bells of floating steamers, while commerce shall gather the rich fruits of their labors. They are among the hills of Georgia, and the sweet, winding Etowah shall hymn their requiem, as long as the iron mountain, around whose base she pours her waters, shall remain. And Virginia—unrivalled old mother—holds them, to-day, all over her great, wide bosom ; and there she will ever hold them, richer, in them alone, than India with her treasures, and prouder than Egypt lifting her changeless pyramids to the skies !

And what is it, so richer than wealth ; so dearer than home, and wife, and children ; and so more valued than ease, and health, and life, that for it, the true, brave soldier, is willing to lose all, and endure, and suffer, and toil, and fight, and die, and never falter ? It is that, without which, there can be no enjoyment in wealth, no home for family, no safety in ease, and no pleasure in life. It is the honor and independence of our country ! And do you suppose, that these gallant heroes, who have lost so much, who have endured so much, who have suffered so much, and who have buried so many, and all to defend and

maintain that honor and independence, will tamely agree, that you, who have never felt the sirocco touch of this war's wild blast, shall now surrender all national honor and independence forever? Will they agree that you shall say all their privations have been endured in the cause of treason? Will they, at your bidding, lay down their arms, and like penitent felons, trust the enemy they have been fighting, for pardon? Will they ever consent that you, taking the friendly hand of the enemy who slew them, shall go over the fields of Manassas and Fredericksburg, Shiloh and Chickamauga, and write above the graves of their comrades who are resting there, that blackest of libels—"Traitors lie here"? Will Georgia write that epitaph for Bartow, and Cobb, and her thousands of sons who fought and died, to illustrate her honor? Will Virginians write it for Jackson? Whose hand shall write it, and not be paralyzed? Whose tongue shall utter it and not grow speechless? Who will bear the message to those foreign nations who are carving statues and erecting monuments to his memory, to forbear the unholy work of perpetuating the name and features of a traitor? But even if the army could endure all this, and lay down their arms, think you they would not grasp them again when they should see that nobler than Brutus, that purer than Cromwell, and that greater than Washington, the glorious Lee, led up to the prison stand to receive the sentence of an inveterate, or the pardon of a penitent, culprit, from the mouth of such a jester as Lincoln? Enough! enough! Away with the thought of peace on such terms. 'Tis the wildest dream that restless ambition, or selfish avarice, or slinking cowardice could conjure in the highest flight of the most anguished imaginings! The day you make friends with the enemy on any such terms, you will make eternal enemies of your own brave sons and brothers who have been defending you against the malice of that enemy. You will have an enemy in every household, a battle by every fireside, and a war that shall blight your fields, and curse the land with horror forever!

"For glory is the soldier's prize,  
The soldier's wealth is HONOR."

But, even if our people and army were all to agree to submit to Mr. Lincoln's terms, we should not have peace. No, not even if our negroes should not be armed, or even the emancipa-



tion proclamation should be abandoned. Policy, safety and passion would all combine to drive our enemies into a foreign war, and every man in the Southern army would be at once ordered to the conflict. Our sons, husbands and brothers, would be marched from the Mississippi into Mexico, or from the James into Canada, or, perhaps into both! Let us not deceive ourselves! The day of compromise did exist. It lingered long. It has gone forever! There is now for us no safety, no property, no honor, no peace, no hope, save in independence.

The next question, therefore, becomes an important one: What are our resources for prosecuting a defensive war?

These resources are of two kinds, physical and moral. Physical resources consist in men, in supplies, and in arms and munitions of war, and in the means of producing and procuring them.

It was my fortune to be one of a joint committee recently appointed by the two houses of Congress, and charged with the duty of enquiring into the condition of our resources, present and prospective, for the maintenance of the public defence. After a lengthy examination, the committee had the happiness to conclude and to report, unanimously, that our resources were sufficient, and, with energy and vigilance, were available for the prosecution of the war until independence was won.

It may not be improper to state to you some facts on this branch of the subject:

We have more than half a million of white men within the military age, east of the Mississippi river.

Taking the whole country together, east of that river, and we find provisions—though scarce in some places—were never more abundant. We have supplies in North Carolina and Virginia sufficient to sustain Gen. Lee's armies until harvest.

Notwithstanding recent losses, we have an abundant supply of heavy ordnance and field artillery. We have more small arms than men on duty to hold them. We have machinery now on hand sufficient to manufacture fifty-five thousand rifles and muskets (not counting pistols and carbines) per annum. This is more than twice the number manufactured in the whole United States before the war. What will critics, who can find nothing efficient in our new government, say to this fact alone? We need mechanics in this department.

We have, and can manufacture within ourselves, powder enough to carry on the war indefinitely. Lead is not so abundant as powder, but sufficient.

Thus, you see, God has not left us without all the physical means necessary for our defence in this trying struggle. Truly, it seems He hid away in our earth all things needful for us, and at the critical hour of want he uncovers them for our use.

The moral resources of a nation consist in the will—the spirit—the determined and united purpose of the people. These resources are developed in the highest strength, when all the people determine to use all the physical resources to the one great end of defending, protecting or establishing, their national integrity and independence. This will must be manifested by faith—faith in God, in our cause, in ourselves, in our government, and in our army. This faith is manifested by a readiness—a cheerfulness to do, to suffer, and to sacrifice. It is the province of the clergy to teach you faith in God. I trust no man now needs to be taught faith in our cause. The exactions of the enemy have made that cause righteous far above all precedent. When this war began, no people ever exhibited a sublimer faith in themselves, their government, and their army. None will admit, they have lost faith in the army, or in the people. But, in this struggle, the army, the people, and the government, are almost the same. Certainly, neither can be strong, when either is weak; neither can survive when either shall fail. And the cause, which all are required to defend, cannot succeed when these shall give way. Now, the skill of a commander is generally exhibited by finding out and attacking his adversary's weakest point. Our enemy have not been stupid or blundering on this point.

From the beginning, Mr. Lincoln and his followers have desired to weaken and destroy *our government*, well knowing that whenever the people of the army should abandon the government, we should be effectually destroyed, in all respects.

Indeed, they believe, that if they can disaffect our people to any one branch of the government—especially to the President, we shall necessarily fail. This great fact is made very distinct by Mr. Lincoln's last message. He says: "On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in

any good. He would accept of nothing short of the severance of the Union. His declarations to this effect are explicit, and oft repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He offers us no excuse to deceive ourselves. We cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield, we are beaten. *If the Southern people fail him, he is beaten.*" Here Mr. Lincoln puts the whole issue of the struggle on one single point. He does not say; if our army fails; if our munitions of war fail; if our supplies fail; if our cities fall; if our States are overrun, or if our currency becomes worthless, we are beaten. No. Mark his words: "*If the Southern people fail.*" Fail what? Fail the cause? No. Fail the Congress? No. Fail the President! "*If the Southern people fail him, he is beaten*"!

I repeat, from the beginning, our enemies have never expected to subdue us by the failure or exhaustion of our *physical* resources. They have expected us to fail in our *moral resources*. They have relied upon disaffection among our people to our government, and chiefly to the President. And in this fatal work we have had enemies within as well as without. "Why," said the greatest of Roman orators and the purest of Roman statesmen, "why are we speaking so long about one enemy; and about that enemy who avows that he is one; and are saying nothing about those who dissemble, who remain at Rome, who are among us? Whom, indeed, if it were by any means possible, I should be anxious not so much to chastise as to cure, and to make friendly to the republic; nor, if they will listen to me, do I quite know why that may not be."

Never were words more applicable. That enemy who avows he is one; who bears arms in his hands, who meets us in battle, is not our worst, our most dangerous enemy. We have enemies who deceive themselves; who dissemble; who are here among us. And if we are conquered, subjugated, disgraced, ruined, it will all be the work of those enemies among us; and they will accomplish that work by destroying the faith of our people in their own government. Oh, if I had a voice to-day which could reach every man, woman and child in the Confederacy, and could open their eyes to this one great truth, our independence would be secured beyond the possibility of failure.



There are many among us engaged in promoting this work of disaffection. They act from different motives, and are in different degrees of guilt. Many are uninformed and thoughtless, and do not really design to do mischief. Some are misguided; some are deceived; some are designing, and some are employed by the enemy. To most of these I allude "not so much to chastise as to cure, and to make friendly to the republic."

Many of our people were opposed to secession as a remedy for our grievances. They regarded it as revolution, and believed it would bring, in its train, the evils of revolution. Most of them are earnest and devoted supporters of our government. This government has been regularly adopted by the people—is a living entity by the "consent of the governed," and cannot be abandoned, except by another revolution. And another revolution now, can never lead us back to the old Union, but would lead, with multiplied horrors, inevitably to subjugation. It is natural, therefore; it is consistent, that these men should give all their energies to sustain the government, and should deprecate the spirit of disaffection as the wildest serpent of the crisis. Occasionally, however, we find some of these, who are unable to follow principle above prejudices, who still dream of the "leeks and the onions," and who, deprecating one revolution, would insanely rush us into another, whose losses, sufferings and evils would be tenfold those of the present. I trust not one of them will linger in his regrets and prejudices, after hearing of the Hampton Roads conference. For one, I buried the Union as I buried my father—from necessity, and in sorrow of heart. I would not, I could not, unbury it now; for, decayed and fetid, it would stench the earth. A fanatical abolition despotism has been erected on the ruins of the old Union, and Southern honor could not live in its Upas shadow.

Many of our people went early and earnestly into the secession movement, from the highest motives that can actuate patriots. Many of them failed in their judgment of results; doubtless looking more to the right than the questions of the hour. These have vindicated their faith with the highest proofs which the noblest heroism can offer. Some have endured every privation of the camp; some have been lifting their voices urging the people to sustain the government; some have practiced self-denial, and held their substance for the com-

mon cause; some have given their lives, and passed away. These all let us honor as countrymen, and love as brethren. Almost before the bill became a law, the gallant Bartow tendered his Oglethorpes—eager to be the first to enlist to serve during the war. I suggested to him, that the position he then held—chairman of the committee on military affairs—was an important one. “No, no,” he said, “I cannot stay here. Remembering my advice to the people, I feel that the front of the fight is the only post of honor for me.” On his last trip from home to the army, the lamented Cobb called to see me. During our conversation, he said: “I do not like war; it is shocking to me. I desire to live a Christian, and do only the peaceful work of a Christian. But I urged the people of Georgia to secede. I did not think war would result, but it has resulted, and I cannot remain out of the service and look honest people in the face!”

Noble Georgians! The State, the people, posterity, will honor your memories and commemorate your virtues!

But all our secession friends were not Bartows and Cobbs, nor Bennings and Colquitts. Many of them were very brave when no battles were to be fought, and very liberal when no burdens were to be borne. These “had not much earth,” and under the first rays of scorching war, they “withered away.” They may be found in shady places; many of them protected by militia or other commissions, which they would have scorned before the war; and their chief business is to abuse the government they are unworthy to serve.

Some men, as bankrupt in honor as in fortune, hurried into the revolution to make money. They early sought the positions suited to their purposes, and regardless of oaths as of duties, have violated the laws, abused their powers, levied contributions upon the patriotism of the country, and demoralized the people.

In all countries, some people are naturally timid, and others are made so by circumstances. Some are fearful of losing life, and some are fearful of losing property; and prematurely concluding that, because the vessel of war is rocking in the storm, it must necessarily sink, they tie their gold about them, and leap into the shoreless sea of subjugation.

Others, again, went into the revolution with sonorous voice

and lofty stride, to reap the honors in liberty's new struggle. They will curse any government they cannot rule ; and will be a curse to any people who will follow them. Desperate gamblers ! Mad for losses, they would stake their country in another game of revolution, only for one more chance to win honors.

Lastly, we have some peculiar characters among us, more fully developed by this revolution than in any previous one. These are men, who, adding to a natural vanity a long domination in party tactics, have become absolute in their opinions, and are unable to see how those who differ with them can possibly be right or wise ; or why their counsel should be sought and not followed. These find the conduct of the war is not precisely according to the policy they may have deemed best. Therefore, fealty to the sovereignty of their opinions requires them to believe we shall fail. They, accordingly, prophesy we will fail ; they find reasons for proving we will fail, and never seem to suspect that the very course they are pursuing is helping to failure.

Out of these various classes, that triune curse of all revolutions—the croaker, the critic and the traitor, is formed. Add to these the spies sent in or bought up among us by the enemy, and you have the different materials which, though immalleable in themselves, form the solid column which, day and night, is assaulting the government, and striving to batter it down in the confidence of the people. Having nothing to keep them together but a common hatred to the government, it is the testimony of all history, that whenever they succeed in destroying the government, they invariably fall to fighting each other, and the people who are deluded to follow them, divide into factions, and rush headlong into anarchy.

The two characters which furnish the most dangerous materials for this work of disaffection and demoralization, are the avaricious and the ambitious.

I have nothing to say against legitimate trade. The man who made his living by honest trade before the war, if not called into military service, may properly continue his calling. The honest middle man is necessary to the non-producing class of society. Nor will I stop now to develop the sin of the unofficial citizen who takes advantage of political, social and commercial



disruptions, to gather fortunes. It would be expecting too much of our people to look for the sublime spectacle of universal self-denial. Nevertheless, if it could have been so, this stream of blood would long since have ceased.

But I cannot pass by the office-holding speculator, without leaving on record my opinion of the unpatriotic and ruinous nature and effect of his dealing. I deny that office holders have the right to speculate at any time. All history shows it is corrupting; and no government ever remained faithful to itself, or to the people, whose administrators became traffickers. But in times like these, the error becomes a crime—a crime against the public faith and the public weal.

It was very clear from the beginning, that this war could only be conducted on the public credit. The note of the government was certainly to become the only currency with the army and the people. It, therefore, became the solemn official duty of every man in office, State and Confederate, to make, to administer, and to execute the laws with special reference to the protection and preservation of this credit. It is another fact, equally clear in reason, and beyond doubt in the history of the times, that the amount of profits in trade has been measured by the amount of depreciation of this public credit. Here then is the dilemma: It is the office holder's duty to preserve the public credit; it is the speculator's interest to depreciate that credit. If the office holder and the speculator be one, which feeling will control—duty or interest? I deny that any man has the right to make the conflict, or that any people ought to risk the hazard.

Nor can the subject matter of the trade change or lessen the guilt. It is the speculation, not the thing speculated in, that depreciates the credit. In fact, large dealings in property, stocks, bonds, and foreign commerce, are the more culpable because they do more to depreciate the credit, and furnish a more unrestrained field for the elasticity of conscience, than dealing in provisions. And provision dealers only hoard their supplies, because they know property dealers will certainly carry up the price by depreciating the currency.

Speculations are, besides, exciting and absorbing to the mind, and no man, so habitually engaged, can be fit for the grave and heavy duties of official station in times like these.

The example, also, is disastrous. When people see those whose

duty it is to represent the public interest, and preserve the public credit, engaged in trafficking, they engage, themselves, more readily in the business ; and subordinate officers throughout the country are glad to cover their sins with the example of those in higher station ; and thus the contagion permeates all degrees of office, and all ranks of society. The public credit rapidly depreciates ; the public debt, and the public burdens, rapidly increase ; demoralization spreads ; the guilty become corrupt and careless ; the honest become troubled and discouraged ; the critics find grounds for cavil ; and the government is weakened in all its sinews.

Plato had a maxim, that "when officials bought and sold, the State became corrupt."

It was forbidden in Sparta, and by positive laws in Rome. Verres, as Governor of Sicily, violated this law, and went back to Rome, at the close of his service, immensely rich. But the eloquence of the great and pure Cicero has made him infamous to this day.

"Whence comes it," said Demosthenes, in one of his patriotic appeals to arouse the Athenians, "that all the Greeks once panted so strongly after liberty, and now run so *eagerly in servitude* ? The reason is, because there prevailed, at that time, among the people, what prevails no longer among us ; that which triumphed over the riches of the Persians ; which maintained the freedom of Greece. Neither their orators nor their generals exercised the scandalous traffic now become so common in Athens, where a price is set upon everything, and where all things are sold to the highest bidder."

History is full of examples, from Demosthenes to Washington, that true statesmen have always declaimed against official traffic ; and that a people who tolerated it have always suffered heavy penalties. It is gratifying to know, that among the highest officers of our Confederate government, this sin does not prevail.

Those men among us, who became disaffected because of disappointed or ungratified ambition, are by far the most dangerous. They are often men of ability and experience, and generally furnish the arguments for all, who, from any cause, oppose the government. They exhibit a "devilish malice" in the adroitness by which they clothe falsehoods in the garb of truth.

They profess great love for the Constitution, the rights of States, and the liberties of the people generally ; and manifest that love by denouncing all the strong measures of the government, adopted to carry on the war, as unconstitutional, oppressive, and subversive of civil liberty. All governments, in revolutions of half the magnitude of this, have found it necessary to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*. All history shows this is necessary to restrain treason and secret schemings to undermine and destroy the government. It is necessary to protect the patriotic and the faithful. It is aimed to weaken the arm of disaffection. It is natural that all those who work disaffection should oppose the suspension, and very many good men become alarmed by their earnest appeals, lest the government is seeking to become a military despotism.

Again : It is not possible to conduct a struggle of such proportion without employing many agents throughout this vast country. It is equally impossible always to secure intelligent, upright and faithful agents, and many of them violate the laws and deal oppressively with the people. All these acts of faithless agents are ascribed to the government and the laws by the designing and disaffected critics.

There are many hardships incident to the war. Burdens are necessarily heavy. Marauders rob the people and defy the laws. Disasters will happen to our arms. The stronger power will overrun the country and commit desolations. Strong measures are absolutely necessary to compel men to discharge dangerous and unpleasant duties, and make sacrifices. All these things are inseparable from war. Yet critics and designing men never lose an opportunity to ascribe all these hardships and misfortunes to the blunders or incompetency of those who administer the government and conduct the war. This is a favorite species of argument not only with critics, but also with spies and traitors.—It is easily made plausible. It comes home to the feeling of the people, and it requires intelligence and patriotism to detect the miserable sophistry. It seems to exhibit also a sympathy with the people, and thus secures their confidence, and thus prepare the way to misrepresent the acts and malign the motives of those in power, and thus to disaffect the people.

The Southern people are naturally confiding, and designing men always profess good motives. The Serpent professed a great



regard for mother Eve when he sought to disaffect her to the Ruler of Heaven. He made her believe that God was a despot and dealt untruly with her. And from that day to this, that has been a favorite argument and a favorite manner of using the argument, to disaffect a people to constituted authority. Cataline used it in Rome. Arnold used it in the first revolution. And, though I will not say, for I do not believe, all who are using it now are Catalines and Arnolds, yet I will say that every Cataline and Arnold, every spy and traitor in the land, are using all these very arguments this very day, and for the one great purpose of disaffecting the people to the government. If the curtain which conceals men's hearts could be lifted, I have no doubt there are men now in this country *in the employ of the enemy*, editing papers, and in various ways, and from many positions, instructing the public mind. Remember, "'twas not Philip, but Philip's gold, that took the cities of Greece!"

If a man desires only to do justice and circulate the truth, why should he misrepresent facts, pervert the laws, and attribute false motives to the government? Why is it that neither the Congress, nor the President, can do anything to please them? Why do they use arguments which justify desertions from the army, and then attribute these desertions to the policy and laws of the land?

It has been found necessary, in all revolutions like this, for the government to keep its secrets. There are many facts and reasons entering into the making of the laws, and in conducting the war, which the enemy ought not to know. The Congress of the first revolution sat in secret. Our Congress has found it necessary to do the same. Now, how can he be honest, or true, or patriotic, who represents to the people that the object of the Congress is to conceal the votes, and hide the reasons of the members?

Of all the assaults that are made upon the President, and the Cabinet, and the Congress, I regard none as so manifestly dishonorable, as the advantage which is taken of this very necessity of secrecy. The heaviest assaults are made on these very measures and operations, the reasons for which are often most necessary to be concealed from the public enemy. It matters not how many misstatements are made, how many false motives are charged, there can be no defence, for defence would require

the truth to be told, and this would damage the public interests. This is taking advantage of the patriotism of those in authority, to destroy the public confidence. Can anything in treason itself be more dishonorable?

I have heard the President say, on several occasions, "If my enemies would tell falsehoods which injured only me, it would be a matter of small moment. But they make statements utterly perverting the truth, which damage the public interests, and which cannot be corrected without exposing facts which would damage the public interest still more greatly."

Washington often made similar complaints. In one of his letters to Mr. Laurens, he uses this strong language:

"My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing facts, which it is of the utmost importance to conceal."

How is it possible, that men who will take such a dishonorable advantage can be patriots; and how can those who are patriots, believe any thing such men say?

The greatest generals cannot escape the criticisms of these designing "sappers and miners" of the public confidence. They assume to know more about military campaigns and military strategy, than the best commanders.

In one of the most trying periods of Roman history, Paulus Emillus—a great and good man—was called by the unanimous voice of the people a second time to the consulship. He determined to take command of the army, then engaged in a hard struggle in Macedonia. Before leaving Rome, he called the people together, and made them a speech, which was so full of wisdom, that it has been preserved to this day. Allow me to read you a portion of that speech. He said:

"There are those who, in company, and even at tables, command armies, regulate the disposition of the forces, and prescribe all the operations of the campaign. They know better than we, where we should encamp, and what posts it is necessary for us to seize; at what time, and by what defile, we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is proper to establish our magazines; from whence, either by sea or land, we are to bring pro-

visions ; when we are to fight the enemy, and when to lie still. They not only prescribe what is best to be done, but, for deviating ever so little from their plans, they make it a crime in their Consul, and cite him before their tribunal." In this day, they would call a convention, to amend the Constitution, to get rid of him. "But know, Romans, this is a *great impediment* with your generals. All have not the resolution and constancy, like Fabius, to despise impertinent critics. He could choose rather to suffer the people, upon such rumors, to invade his authority, than to ruin the business of the State, in order to secure to himself their good opinion, and an empty name. If there be any one, who conceives himself capable of assisting me with his counsels, in the war you have charged me with, let him not refuse to do the republic that service, but let him go with me into Macedonia ; a ship, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied at my charge. But, if he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquility of the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in port. We shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as shall be given us in the camp itself."

The learned historian who reports this speech, makes the following pointed comment :

"This discourse of Paulus Emilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shows that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticising and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that by so doing, they act in manifest contradiction to reason and justice ; for, what can be more absurd and ridiculous than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce, with a magisterial air, upon their actions ! But, we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature ; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Emilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business."

Meeting with Gen. Lee, soon after Gen. Bragg was relieved of the command of the Army of the Tennessee, and feeling great interest in the question, I asked him to suggest to the



President the most proper general to take command of that army. He promptly said he knew of no better officer in the service than Gen. Bragg. I told him I certainly pronounced no opinion against Gen. Bragg, but, right or wrong, critics, or subordinate officers, or both, had destroyed his usefulness, with that army, and some one else would now have to command it.

"This is true; unfortunately true," said the great man, and then with a dignified sarcasm I shall never forget, he made the following speech: "We made one great mistake, Mr. Hill, in the beginning of this revolution, and I fear we shall never get rid of the blunders that follow from it. We put all our worst generals to commanding our armies, and all our best generals to editing newspapers! These editing generals alone can see before hand everything that ought to be done in a campaign, and how a battle ought to be fought, and never make mistakes. I have planned several campaigns and battles and have taken great pains and did my best, and sometimes I have thought they could not be improved; but when I had gone through with the campaign or fought the battles, I have seen where they could have been better, and have had to regret I could not foresee and avoid some of the errors. Afterwards, on reading some paper, I found those best generals saw all the mistakes from the beginning, but were not kind enough to point them out until it was too late. And now," added the patriot, "I desire to serve my country in this struggle in any position in which I can be useful. I think we ought to have our best military talent in the field. I have done the best I could commanding the army, and I know I have committed errors and made failures; and if some of these better generals will come and take my place, I am willing to do my best to serve my country editing a newspaper."

I have endeavored to be explicit in explaining the causes which impair our moral resources, and thereby prevent the efficient use of our physical resources, because I know they constitute the greatest obstacle in the way of our success. The enemy may overrun our country, but they can never hold it, without the consent of our people. They conceded this much when they abandoned Atlanta. Our people will never consent to subjugation, unless their minds are first disaffected to our own government. "If the Southern people fail the insurgent leader," said Mr. Lincoln, "he is beaten." Mr. Lincoln knows

he can never be beaten in any other way. The critics, the spies, and the traitors, among us, know it. These are our most dangerous enemies, because they, alone, can assault and destroy this fidelity of the people. Mr. Lincoln confesses his hopes lie in this infidelity. He says, "some of them, *we know*, already desire peace and reunion. *The number of such may increase.*" Yes, they are among us, and they will increase. We had but few of these critics and destroyers of the public confidence, in the beginning. As the war has progressed, and its burdens increased, and its hardships multiplied, they have increased. They thrive on their country's disasters. We shall have other disasters, and they will grow in boldness and numbers. They have always done so. They strengthen on the misfortunes that befall our cause and oppress our people, as the vultures fatten on the torn flesh of their prey.

They have already done much to produce and justify desertions from the army. They have done much to dissatisfy the people, and induce them to hold back their supplies. They have done much to prevent our recognition by foreign powers. They have done much to encourage Mr. Lincoln in the hope, that the "Southern people would yet fail their leader, and cause him to be beaten." They have done much to break down every movement at the North calculated to stop the shedding of blood, and to inaugurate the peaceful counsels of negotiation; for the North will never negotiate while they are made to believe they can conquer. They have done much to prolong this war, and to murder our people in battle. I know the time has come when these enemies within will make fresh assaults, with greater boldness; and, therefore, it is, I have come home to raise my voice of warning against them. I know the grievances, all petty and imaginary, that redden the eyes with vengeance and make the words drop oily from the tongue, while the purpose grows dark in the heart; and I dread, this day, the subtle power of the serpent that coils within the garden, far more than I do a million of bayonets bristling without the walls!

There is but one way to fight these enemies among us. The people must support the government which Mr. Lincoln, and these, his co-workers, fight. It is your government, my countrymen. It is fighting your battles, and toiling, day and night, to establish your rights and liberties. Support the President;

support the laws ; support the generals ; supply the army ; drive off the traitors ; confound the critics ; and then you will be able to defy the enemy ; arrest disasters, and win independence. There are many roads to failure and bondage. You may drift there by lethargy ; you may wind there by treason ; you may rush there by faction. There is but one road to success and freedom. It may be narrow, and require toil, and patience, and sacrifice, but you are certainly traveling that road, when you support your own regular Confederate government. Every man who teaches you otherwise, is your enemy.

And never had any people a government which they could more safely trust. You may summon a thousand conventions ; you may let every carping factionist be tried in his turn ; you may cross your lines, and select from all the cabinets of the world, and you will get no better chief Executive than him whom God and your own votes have given you.

You may resurrect all the Alexanders, and Napoleons, and Washingtons, of all ages of the world, and you will never get a better general than your own unrivalled Lee.

And, if you could combine, in one, the power of the Macedonian phalanx, the fidelity of the Roman Legion, and the earnest fire of the French Guards, you could not get a better army than that composed of your own sons, brothers, and husbands, who have fought on an hundred fields ; who have endured untold privations, and who still, unmurmuring, unfaltering and unflinching, face the mongrel invaders of our homes.

My faith has grown with every year of the struggle. That faith rests on the known patriotism of our leaders ; the tried courage of our army ; the virtue and intelligence of the people, and the justice of a chastising, and mercy of a not always offended, God. The campaign of 1864 has taught me to know what I always believed—that this vast country cannot be held by an enemy against the will of our people. I dread no enemy, therefore, as I do the factionist. But I know this same enemy helped the hosts of Persia against the Greeks, and was overcome. This enemy helped the power of the conquering Hannibal against the yet feeble Romans and was overcome. This enemy helped the haughty and cruel Spaniard against the Netherlands, and was overcome. This enemy joined the ranks of the British



and Indians and Tories against our fathers under Washington, and was overcome. And I believe the Confederates are as brave as the Greeks, patriotic as the Romans, determined as the Dutch, and as true as even their fathers. And neither of these were ever threatened with such a fate as that with which our enemies threaten us. When every other resource shall fail, the cruelty of our enemy's terms of peace, will still drive us to resistance. It is natural we should be punished severely, because our sins have been many. For many years, in the old government, wrangling aspirants for place, losing sight of the great duties of statesmanship, were solely engaged in heating the furnace of passion and hate. In the beginning of this revolution there were deceptions, and frauds, and errors, on all sides; but the abolitionists alone moved to their work with deliberate calculating malice against the rights of man and the decrees of God. Therefore, while all of us must suffer, the enemy must finally fail.

We are able to come out of this struggle with constitutional government retained, with liberty enjoyed, and with slavery preserved. The first two are our rights, and so dear, that war with them, is better than peace without them. The last is God's law, and He is stronger than any arm of flesh.

If a man shall stand on the banks of the Mississippi, and watch the misfortunes that occur upon, and by reason of the waters of the mighty river, he will see much to sadden and discomfort him. He will see that when a man falls in the middle of the stream, he can swim to neither shore, but must go to the bottom. He will see floating palaces striking snags, or meeting with other accidents, and going beneath the mocking waves with all on board. And, anon, he will see the flood swell high and break from its bounds; and now he will see beautiful homes swept away; and man and beast alike, perishing in the deluge. And then, if he will close his eyes, and not see that for one man who perishes in that river a thousand live from it; that for one steamer that sinks, a thousand ride safely, with wealth, and life, and joy, over its surface; if he will not survey the wide alluvion spreading from either bank, gathering richness from the swelling flood, and producing food and raiment for millions of people throughout the earth, he would naturally conclude that philanthropy required the waters should be stopped, and the long,

deep channel, dried. And then, with vivid pictures of drowning men, and sinking steamers, and submerging homes; with song and story, in pulpit and council chamber, he might excite the imaginations of a fanatical people, and arouse them to the expenditure of labor, and money, and life, to stop the flow of that river. And when the high, long obstruction should be completed, and the triumphing dreamer should leap to the summit, and command the waters—back; the dancing, rushing, laughing floods, breaking away on every side, and mocking the puny creature, would cry with ten thousand voices: God bid us go to the Gulf, and thither we are going, though we deluge a continent on the way!

So the foolish abolitionist looks upon slavery, and can see nothing but its stripes, its labors and its bondage. He will not see that for every stripe there are a thousand blessings. He will not see that no pauper population of any age in any country was ever so well fed, so well clothed, so lightly worked, so comforted with home, and so instructed in religion. He will not see that this disciplined labor, while it protects society, and keeps the negro in contented, happy subjection, is furnishing food and raiment to millions all over the world—even to the abolitionist himself, and to his children. Therefore, he magnifies the evils of slavery. He arouses the imaginations and passions of an uninformed and fanatical people. He sets at defiance the solemn covenant of a well-considered and time-honored compact of government. He disrupts society, desecrates the pulpit, defames the Senate hall, and prostitutes learning and science. He gathers millions of men for slaughter, and billions of treasures to be wasted. All, all that an easy bondage may be broken, and a happy slave turned loose! And suppose, like the dreamer with the floods, he shall seem for a time to succeed? Suppose that the restraints, which bind four millions of these people to duty, shall be withdrawn. Who that knows the negro, or has faith in God, does not see the result? Bright homes will be destroyed, rich fields will cease to bear, millions will become hungry and naked, society will rush towards barbarism, and government to anarchy and despotism. The continent will be deluged in blood; and, after all, the poor scattering negroes, like the uncontrolled and uncontrollable waters driven from their natural course, will



wander in unknown ways, weakening the more, the farther and longer they wander ; caring for none, and shunned by all ; destroying and destroyed wherever they go ; until at last, they will return to the channel of servitude which God marked out for them to follow, and will bear, in happy usefulness again, the burdens of their destiny. For He who bid the waters go to the sea, said also, by His servant, that Canaan should serve his brethren.

Man's impious devices can no more annul God's moral decrees than his puny arm can subvert God's physical laws. He may pervert and obstruct both for a time, but always with confusion and punishment to himself. It was such transgression that put death in nature, doomed the Ethiopian to bondage, and filled the human heart with sorrows. But He who hath the power will also show the mercy. And as long as the Mississippi shall roll his floods to the Gulf, roaring, in eternal thunders, praises to Him by whose command the waters come and go, so long will the serving children of Canaan sow and reap in the valley made rich by this coming and going ; and, happy with food and raiment, home and family, faith and hope, shall hymn in daily thanksgivings, praises to Him whose goodness also made this land of the Confederate the African's paradise !

Contending, then, only for what God has approved, and contending also, for all that rewarded the toils of our fathers, and all that can give us hope for our children, let us dedicate all that we are and have, anew to the contest. Let us, from this day, think no thought, speak no word, do no deed, but for our country, until that country shall be free. Let us have no friends but the friends of our country ; let us have no enemies, but the enemies of our country.

Who can fall, if his country shall rise ? Who would rise, if his country shall fall ? Friends, neighbors, countrymen ! we all, all shall rise if we will only

“ Onward in faith ! and leave the rest to Heaven.”





